

## Message Text

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43

ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /016 R

66011

DRAFTED BY :S/S-O:JHOGANSON

APPROVED BY:S/S-O:JHOGANSON

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P 311317Z DEC 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 305280 TOSEC 250100

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT TEHRAN 12570 ACTION SECSTATE INFO SECDEF  
31 DEC 75

QUOTE

S E C R E T TEHRAN 12570

EXDIS

PERSONAL FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER AND SECRETARY RUMSFELD

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT, WHITE HOUSE

E.O.11652: XGDS 1

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, IR

SUBJ: POSSIBLE CHANGE IN IRANIAN FOREIGN POLICY

1. AT AUDIENCE ON AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 30, SHAH INFORMED ME  
THAT HE WAS GOING TO HAVE TO RE-THINK IRANIAN FOREIGN POLICY  
IN LIGHT OF SIGNIFICANT REVENUE LOSSES CAUSED BY DROPOFF IN  
OIL LIFTINGS OF A MILLION BARRELS PER DAY. AFTER POINTING  
OUT THAT ANY FOREIGN POLICY INVOLVED MILITARY AND ECONOMIC  
CONSIDERATIONS AS WELL AS POLITICAL ONES, THE SHAH EXPLAINED  
THAT HE CANNOT GO ON LENDING MONEY TO COUNTRIES LIKE

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BRITAIN AND FRANCE NOR CAN HE GO ON BUYING ARMS AND CIVILIAN

GOODS FROM THE UNITED STATES UNLESS HE HAS THE REVENUE TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE. HAVING IDENTIFIED THE EXTENT TO WHICH MILITARY POWER PROMOTES POLITICAL LEVERAGE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HE SAID THAT IRAN WOULD BE OBLIGED TO GIVE UP THE IDEA OF EXTENDING ITS INFLUENCE OUTWARD AND WOULD BE OBLIGED TO BE ENTIRELY "INWARD-LOOKING". "YOU AND SAUDI ARABIA CAN HANDLE THE POLICING OF THE INDIAN OCEAN," HE QUIPPED. HE ADDED THAT THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF NAVAL PATROLLING AS FAR AS SOUTH AFRICA IF INDEED HE IS OBLIGED TO CANCEL THE SPRUANCE PURCHASE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NAVAL BASE AT CHAH BAHAR, WHICH HE IS SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING DOING. "I WILL BE OBLIGED TO HAVE A PURELY DEFENSIVE NAVY." THE SHAH RULED OUT MILITARY AID TO OTHER COUNTRIES (CF. LEBANON) BUT SAID HE WOULD NOT PULL OUT OF DHOFAR SINCE HIS COMMITMENT TO SULTAN QABOOS WAS FIRM. THE SHAH WENT OVER IN SOME DETAIL THE OTHER MILITARY PURCHASES HE IS INTENDING TO CANCEL INCLUDING AWACS, AMST, THE F-16, AND REDUCING THE NUMBER OF I-HAWK BATTALIONS NOW ON ORDER. IN SUMMARIZING, THE SHAH EMPHASIZED THAT HE WOULD TAILOR HIS FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES AND HIS MILITARY PURCHASES ENTIRELY TO THE INCOME HIS COUNTRY DERIVES FROM OIL.

2. AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS COMMENTS INVOLVING THE UNITED STATES, THE SHAH WENT ON TO SAY THAT SINCE BRITAIN AND FRANCE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR 60 PERCENT OF THE OIL TAKE-OFF FROM IRAN, HE WOULD BE TALKING TO THOSE COUNTRIES ALONG THE SAME LINES THAT HE HAD TALKED TO ME. HE SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO CANCEL WEAPONS PURCHASES FROM BRITAIN (CF. RAPIER MISSILE) AND HE MIGHT BE OBLIGED TO CANCEL UNDERSTANDINGS WITH FRANCE FOR BUILDING A SUBWAY SYSTEM IN TEHRAN AND NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS IN OTHER PARTS OF IRAN.

3. DURING COURSE OF DAY DECEMBER 30 THREE APPROACHES WERE MADE TO US OFFICIALS HERE: THE SHAH SPOKE TO ME, AND GENERAL TOUFANIAN, VICE MINISTER OF WAR AND PURCHASER OF ALL IRANIAN WEAPONS SYSTEMS, SPOKE WITH BOTH DEFREP VON MARBOD AND ME SEPARATELY. THE MESSAGE WAS EXACTLY THE SAME. THE APPLICATION OF PRESSURE TO INCREASE OIL LIFTINGS WAS CLEAR. EXACTLY WHAT THE SHAH IN THE END WILL DO IS NOT SO CLEAR. AFTER 33 YEARS IN POWER, HE HAS ENDURED MUCH AND HAS HAD MANY UPS AND DOWNS. HE IS ESSENTIALLY A PRAGMATIST

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AND IS QUITE CAPABLE OF MAKING UNPLEASANT DECISIONS WHEN HE DECIDES THEY ARE JUSTIFIED. THEREFORE IT WOULD NOT BE ADVISABLE FOR THE USG TO CONCLUDE THAT HE IS BLUFFING. HE IS AMBITIOUS FOR HIS COUNTRY, HE WANTS TO IMPROVE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF HIS PEOPLE, AND HE DESIRES A LARGER ROLE FOR IRAN ON THE WORLD SCENE. NEVERTHELESS, HE IS NOT CONSUMED BY HIS SHINY GOALS, AND AS HE ONCE SAID TO ME IN ANOTHER CONTEXT, "THE PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY CAN ALWAYS GO BACK TO SUBSISTING ON GOAT

CHEESE AS THEY DID FOR CENTURIES."

4. IN LIGHT OF THE FOREGOING, GENERAL TOUFANIAN'S TRIP TO WASHINGTON IN MID-JANUARY ASSUMES ADDITIONAL IMPORTANCE AND SHOULD NOT BE POSTPONED IF IT IS AT ALL POSSIBLE TO ACCOMMODATE HIM. THE VISIT CAN HAVE DISTINCTLY CONSTRUCTIVE ASPECTS IN BRINGING ABOUT REASSURANCE ON DOD PERFORMANCE.  
HELMS

UNQUOTE ROBINSON

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TOSEC, MILITARY PROCUREMENT, ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, MILITARY ASSISTANCE, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 31 DEC 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** MartinML  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975STATE305280  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** O:JHOGANSON  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750451-0454  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t1975124/aaaaacrt.tel  
**Line Count:** 125  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** MartinML  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 07 AUG 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <07 AUG 2003 by izenbei0>; RELEASED <07 AUG 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <26 NOV 2003 by MartinML>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** POSSIBLE CHANGE IN IRANIAN FOREIGN POLICY  
**TAGS:** PFOR, MASS, IR  
**To:** SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006